

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BANGKOK 20825

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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SUBJECT: ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE ON THE SINO-VIET DISPUTE

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1. SUMMARY: A RECENT EUROPEAN TRAVELER TO THE PRC-SRV
BORDER HEARD REFUGEES FROM VIETNAM PLACE SUBSTANTIAL BLAME
ON HANOI AUTHORITIES, ESPECIALLY THE PUBLIC SECURITY
OFFICIALS, FOR THE EXODUS TO CHINA WHICH HAS OCCURED THIS
SPRING AND SUMMER. REFUGEES SPOKE OF DISCRIMINATION
AND INDICATED SECURITY CONCERNS AND PARANOIA ARE BEHIND
HANOI'S ACTIONS AGAINST THE CHINESE COMMUNITY. OFFICIALS
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IN PEKING, ON THE OTHER HAND, CHARGED THAT MOSCOW WAS
BACK OF THE POLICIES EMANATING FROM HANOI. THE TRAVELER.
LONG FAMILIAR WITH HANOI, SUSPECTS THAT SRV DEPUTY
FONMIN PHAN HIEN'S ASIAN TRAVELS, HIS BLANDISHMENTS TO
THE U.S., AND RECENTLY SIGNED CONTRACTS WITH WEST
EUROPEAN FIRMS MAY AT LEAST PARTLY BE A SMOKESCREEN TO
OBSCURE HANOI'S MOVEMENT TO CLOSER RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW.

END SUMMARY.

2. A EUROPEAN TRAVELER, WHO JUST RETURNED FROM THREE WEEKS IN THE PRC, VISITED THE PRC-SRV BORDER IN YUNNAN PROVINCE AND INTERVIEWED AT LENGTH SEVERAL RECENT ETHNIC CHINESE REFUGEES FROM VIETNAM. THESE REFUGEES, WHICH INCLUDED A PROFESSOR TURNED DOCK WORKER, A DOCTOR, A TEACHER, AND TECHNICIANS, PROVIDED A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE OF THE BACKGROUND OF THE SINO-VIET DISPUTE, PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE REASONS BACK OF THE REFUGEE EXODUS TO CHINA. REFUGEES GAVE SOURCE IMPRESSION THAT HANOI AUTHORITIES, PARTICULARLY PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS, HAVE BEEN BACK OF A FORCED OR PURPOSEFULLY INDUCED EXODUS TO THE PRC. REFUGEES SPOKE OF REVOCATION OF IDENTIFICATION CARDS, RATION AND SALARY CUTS AND THE THREAT OF REMOVAL TO NEW ECONOMIC ZONES AS VIETNAMESE ACTS WHICH LED TO THE EXODUS TO CHINA. BEHIND THESE MEASURES, RUMORS OF IMPENDING MILITARY CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PRC AND SRV, FIRED THE PANICKY DEPARTURE FOR CHINA. THE TRAVELER ATTRIBUTED THE RUMORS 90 PERCENT TO VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES AND 10 PERCENT TO PRC AGENTS.

3. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PROFESSOR/DOCK WORKER FROM HAIPHONG, AN INTELLECTUAL, RECALLED THAT IN THE EARLY SIXTIES HE HAD ROUTINELY FILLED OUT RESIDENCE FORMS, STATING THAT HE WAS "CHINESE." EARLIER THIS YEAR, WHEN HE AGAIN COMPLETED CONFIDENTIAL

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A SIMILAR FORM INDICATING HIS NATIONALITY AS "CHINESE," SECURITY POLICE VISITED HIM AND DEMANDED MENACINGLY TO KNOW, "WHY HE HAD WRITTEN 'CHINESE' UNDER NATIONALITY?" DOCKER WAS BEWILDERED AND FRIGHTENED BY THE EXPERIENCE. THE DOCKER ALSO TOLD SOURCE THAT SKILLED CHINESE DOCK WORKERS FORMERLY RECEIVED 120 DONG A MONTH FOR THEIR LABOR WHILE VIETNAMESE DOCKERS RECEIVED 60 DONG. (NOTE: WE ASSUME THAT THE CHINESE WERE SKILLED LABORERS OR FOREMEN AND THE VIETNAMESE WERE COMMON LABORERS.) SUDDENLY, THIS SPRING, THE CHINESE LABORERS WERE TOLD THAT THEIR PAY WOULD BE REDUCED IMMEDIATELY TO 60 DONG A MONTH. FAMILIES ACCUSTOMED TO LIVING ON TWICE THAT AMOUNT COULD NOT SUDDENLY ADJUST. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THAT FAMILY LIKE MANY OTHERS LEFT FOR CHINA. DOCKER SAID THERE WAS A COMMUNE OF 2000 CHINESE DOCK WORKERS WHO FLED EN MASSE TO CHINA FROM HAIPHONG. SIMILARLY, MANY CHINESE TECHNICIANS FROM THE HON GAI COAL MINES DEPARTED FOR CHINA. BOTH HAIPHONG AND HON GAI HAVE BEEN CRIPPLED BY THE DEPARTURES, ACCORDING TO THE DOCKER.

4. BASED ON HIS INTERVIEWS OF REFUGEES, THE TRAVELER CONCLUDED THAT THE HARASSMENT OF CHINESE IN NORTH VIETNAM

BEGAN IN JANUARY, 1978. IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION IN THE CHINESE COMMUNITY. SOURCE BLAMES THE VIETNAMESE, PARTICULARLY PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS, FOR MOST OF THE RUMORS OF IMPENDING PRC-SRV CONFLICT. HE ALSO HEARD THAT CHINESE, IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH, COULD PAY PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS THREE TAEELS OF GOLD FOR A GUARANTEED PASSAGE TO THE PRC BORDER. TRAIN OR BUS TICKET WAS EXTRA. TRAVELER SEES A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF VIETNAMESE PARANOIA BEHIND THEIR MOVES AGAINST THE CHINESE COMMUNITY. IN HIS VIEW, PARTLY FUELED BY THE CAMBODIAN CONFLICT, VIETNAMESE ARE DEEPLY FEARFUL OF A CHINESE FIFTH COLUMN

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IN THE EVENT OF HOSTILITIES WITH CHINA. BECAUSE OF CHINESE SUPPORT FOR THE CAMBODIANS, HANOI CONCLUDED THAT CHINA WAS THE "REAL ENEMY" IN CAMBODIA. POTENTIAL SPIES HAD TO BE EXPUNGED, ACCORDING TO THE TRAVELER'S REASONING. THIS WAS AN IDEA WHICH THE RUSSIANS IMPLANTED WITH VIETNAMESE PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES, HE WAS TOLD. HE HEARD THAT DURING JOINT VISITS IN 1970-71 TO

THE SINO-VIET BORDER, THE RUSSIANS REMINDED THE VIETNAMESE OF HOW THE JAPANESE USED ETHNIC JAPANESE IN MANCHURIA TO SEIZE CONTROL AND ESTABLISH MANCHUKUO IN THE LATE THIRTIES. RUSSIANS ADVISED THE VIETNAMESE TO REMOVE ETHNIC CHINESE FROM THEIR BORDERS. BECAUSE OF THIS CONCERN, HANOI MOVED , DIRECTLY THIS SPRING AGAINST ETHNIC CHINESE, SUCH AS THE
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YAO, LIVING IN THE BORDER AREAS WITH CHINA, FORCIBLY EVICTING THEM TO THE PRC. OTHER CHINESE WERE MORE SUBTLY INDUCED TO LEAVE THROUGH AN ESCALATION OF PRESSURES AND RUMORS, ACCORDING TO THE TRAVELER.

5. THE TRAVELER IS CONVINCED THAT SUCH AN IMPORTANT DECISION AS EXPULSION OF CHINESE COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE POLITBURO IN HANOI. HE ALSO ASSUMES THAT THE ECONOMIC IMPACT, SUCH AS ON THE HAIPHONG HARBOR AND HON GAI COAL MINES, WAS SIMPLY MISJUDGED BY HANOI, OR THE DECISION WAS MADE WITHOUT ADEQUATE COORDINATION. THE SRV BUREAUCRACY IS HIGHLY COMPARTMENTALIZED, HE COMMENTED, AND "THE VIETNAMESE MADE ANOTHER OF THEIR STUPID . DECISIONS." ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS IN THE SRV ARE THE UNFORTUNATE RESULT.

6. ON THE CHINESE SIDE, THE TRAVELER WAS TOLD DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PRC OFFICIALS IN PEKING THAT "THE RUSSIANS ARE BACK OF VIETNAMESE POLICIES." ONE SENIOR CHINESE OFFICIAL TOLD THE TRAVELER THAT HANOI BEGAN TILTING TOWARDS MOSCOW FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF HO CHI MINH IN 1969 WHEN VIETNAMESE POLICIES ESPECIALLY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS INCREASINGLY FOLLOWED SOVIET LINES. ASSERTING A LACK OF PROFUNDITY IN CARRYING OUT THEIR REVOLUTION, THE SENIOR PRC OFFICIAL TOLD THE TRAVELER THAT "THE VIETNAMESE ARE LIKE A PANCAKE DRAWN ON A PIECE OF PAPER--PRETTY TO LOOK AT, BUT NOT GOOD TO EAT." HE WAS TOLD THAT PEKING, THROUGH INTEL, LEARNED THAT PUBLIC SECURITY PERSONNEL IN THE SRV WERE TOLD IN 1970-71 THAT "CHINA WILL BE THE NEXT ENEMY."

7. THE SENIOR PRC OFFICIAL CALLED LE DUAN A "REVISIONIST," THE FIRST SUCH LABELING BY A CHINESE OFFICAL OF WHICH THE TRAVEER WAS AWARE. HE ALSO DISCUSSED VIETNAMESE
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LEADERS WITH THE REFUGEES, ALL OF WHOM HE SELECTED FOR INTERVIEWS BECAUSE OF THEIR GOOD EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND. THE REFUGEES DO NOT BELIEVE POLITBURO MEMBER TRUONG CHINH

HAS CHANGED FROM BEING PRO-CHINESE TO PRO-SOVIET, AS SOME ANALYSTS HAVE ASSERTED. LE DUAN, PREVIER PHAM VAN DONG, GENERAL VO NGUYEN GIAP AND THE MANY OTHER SENIOR GENERALS ARE PRO-SOVIET, ACCORDING TO THE REFUGEES. (NOTE: WE SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT DONG IS PRO-SOVIET.) THE TRAVELER FOUND POLITBURO MEMBER LE THANH NGHI'S POSITION IN-EXPLICABLE. "HOW COULD NGHI, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SRV ECONOMY, ACCEPT A (PRESUMED) DECISION TO EVICT ETHNIC CHINESE?" THE TRAVELER ASKED RHETORICALLY. HOWEVER, HE NOTED, NGHI HAS ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE NEW POLICY LINES BY TRAVELING TO BUCHAREST TO JOIN COMECON AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO MOSCOW, PRESUMABLY, TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER VIETNAMESE TIES WITH THE SOVIETS.

8. SINCE THE FALLOUT WITH PEKING, QUICK ACTIONS BY HANOI TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH OTHER NATIONS MAY AT LEAST PARTLY BE A SMOKESCREEN TO COVER HANOI'S MOVE TOWARD THE SOVIETS, THE TRAVELER REMARKED. "PHAN HIEN'S GESTURES TOWARD THE U.S. ARE VINTAGE PHAN HIEN." IN THE TRAVELER'S JUDGMENT, HIEN MAY HAVE MODIFIED THE COSMETICS OF SRV POLICY TOWARD NORMALIZATION WITH THE U.S., BUT THE FUNDAMENTAL POSTURE IS STILL THE SAME. HIEN'S ANTICS ACROSS ASIA, PARTICULARLY HIS BLANDISHMENTS TO THE U.S. MAY AT LEAST PARTLY BE DESIGNED TO OBSCURE CLOSER TIES WITH MOSCOW.

9. VIETNAMESE ACTIVITIES VIS-A-VIS THE WEST EUROPEANS SINCE JOINING COMECON ARE ALSO SEEN BY THE TRAVELER AS PART OF THE VIETNAMESE SMOKESCREEN. WEST EUROPEANS HAVE FOUND THE VIETNAMESE EAGER TO SIGN CONTRACTS IN THE WAKE OF ENTRY BY VIETNAM INTO COMECON. WEST EUROPEANS HAVE SIGNED THE CONTRACTS (UNSPECIFIED) PARTLY IN THE BELIEF THAT VIETNAMESE MEMBERSHIP IN COMECON WILL GUARANTEE THAT THE SOVIET BLOC WOULD BAIL HANOI OUT IF VIETNAM BECAME
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UNABLE TO MEET ITS FOREIGN FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS.

10. TURNING TO TIDBITS, THE TRAVELER DROVE THROUGH THE SIP SONG PHAN NA AREA, IN SOUTHERN YUNNAN PROVINCE, TO THE LAOTIAN BORDER. THE ROUTE IS THE MAIN TRUNK TO THE ROAD NETWORK THE CHINESE HAVE BUILT IN NORTHERN LAOS. IN HIS WORDS, THE ROAD WAS BUILT TO LAST AND IS COVERED WITH A THICK CANOPY OF TREES, PLANTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROUTE. HE NOTED THAT THE CULVERT SYSTEM FOR WATER DRAINAGE WAS PARTICULARLY IMPRESSIVE.

11. THE TRAVELER ASKED SEVERAL CHINESE OFFICIALS WHY PEKING DID NOT SUPPORT THE INSURGENCY AGAINST THE
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GOVERNMENT IN LAOS. ALL GRINNED WITHOUT OTHER RESPONSE. (COMMENT: SOURCE DID NOT RPT NOT MAKE CLEAR WHY HE ASKED QUESTION. IN VIEW OF STRONG INFLUENCE OF SRV IN LAOS, HE MAY HAVE THOUGHT IT LOGICAL FOR CHINESE TO SUPPORT ANTI-LPDR INSURGENCY AS A SUPPLEMENT TO CHINESE ACTIONS AGAINST SRV ELSEWHERE.)

12. FINALLY, IN KUNMING, THE TRAVELER ASKED TO SEE SOME "ANCIENT MONUMENTS," SUCH AS THE VIETNAMESE EMBASSY. THE DAY AFTER THE VIETNAMESE CLOSED THEIR CONSULATE, HE WAS GIVEN A TOUR OF THE BUILDING BY HIS CHINESE GUIDES.

13. COMMENT: BECAUSE OF THE OBVIOUS TILT TOWARD PEKING IN HIS ASSESSMENT, WE ASKED THE TRAVELER IF HE HAD NOT

BEEN INFLUENCED IN HIS ASSESSMENT BY THREE WEEKS OF TRAVELING IN THE PRC. "NO," HE RESPONDED, "I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND THE VIETNAMESE TO BE SCOUNDRELS. THE CHINESE SUBJECT YOU TO ONE BIG TRICK, BUT THE VIETNAMESE BOMBARD YOU WITH MULTIPLE LITTLE TRICKS." REGARDLESS OF HIS DISCLAIMER, CHINESE REFUGEES FROM THE NORTH AND THOSE FROM THE SOUTH OF THE SRV DO NOT TELL EXACTLY THE SAME TALE (BANGKOK 16202). REFUGEES FROM THE NORTH PUT MUCH MORE BLAME ON HANOI FOR BUILDING FEARS AMONG THE ETHNIC CHINESE IN THE NORTH AND CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH RUMORS, WHETHER SPREAD BY AGENTS OF HANOI OR PEKING, WOULD THRIVE AND IMPEL ETHNIC CHINESE TO CROSS INTO CHINA. THE ACTIVE ROLE REPORTED OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTH IMPLICATES THE SRV GOVERNMENT MORE DEEPLY AND DIRECTLY IN THE EXODUS THAN PREVIOUS REFUGEE REPORTS. IF THESE REPORTS ARE FURTHER CORROBORATED, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BOTH HANOI AND PEKING HAVE PLAYED INFLAMMATORY ROLES LEADING TO THE EXODUS. HOWEVER, WE STILL BELIEVE THAT THE ISSUE OF TREATMENT OF CHINESE WAS THE CATALYST

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RATHER THAN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DISPUTE. THE REAL ISSUE WAS HANOI'S CLOSE TIES WITH MOSCOW AND ITS POLICIES TOWARD LAOS AND CAMBODIA.

14. ASIDE FROM THE REPORTED ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTH, THE MEASURES EMPLOYED IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH TO TRY TO FORCE CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE TO LEAVE THE CITIES FOR ECONOMIC ZONES HAVE BEEN THE SAME: REVOCATION OF IDENTIFICATION CARDS, CUT RATIONS, LOSS OF WORK OR SALARIES, ETC. IN BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH, GOODS, FUNDS AND OTHER WEALTH HAVE BEEN SEIZED, EITHER THROUGH PSUEDO-LEGAL MEASURES OR BY RAPACIOUS CADRES AND SOLDIERS. THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS, AS ALLEGED BY THESE REFUGEES IN CHINA, ADDS CREDENCE TO THE THESIS THAT SECURITY AND NOT JUST ECONOMIC-POLITICAL OBJECTIVES WAS ALSO AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE POLICY INITIATIVES HANOI HAS UNDERTAKEN THIS SPRING. O'DONOHUE

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